

To Francis Wayland

Sir

You have truly said, "it is a common remark, that whenever it has been thought necessary to arouse the mind of man to enterprizes of great birth & moment, the appeal has always been made to his moral sentiments"; but it is not more true, as an historical fact, that in all such cases, the appeal has been thus made, than it is, as a philosophical truth, that to be effectual, it must be so made. Indeed the historical fact is but the demonstration of the philosophical truth; it is the experience of universal man giving its unvarying testimony to the truth, that in all such enterprises, the appeal, to be effectual, must be ~~to these sentiments~~^{to the moral sentiments}, to these sentiments. Nor is this more true of the effort to "arouse", than of the attempt to lull, mind to sleep. In either, & in both cases alike, the only finally effectual appeal must be to the moral sentiments of the man. It is true, ~~particularly in the latter case~~^{particularly in the latter case}, that the various appliances to which wickedness is wont to resort, may answer a temporary purpose. The ~~wrong~~ terms of reproach, such as "mad", "beside thyself", "these that turn the world upside down", "pestilent fellows", ~~unseen by~~^{unseen by} "enthusiasts", "fanatics", "monomaniacs", "inendiaries", "cuthbards", "Jacobins", "Stirrers up of insurrection" &c. &c.,

C I R C U L A R .

CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS—

The deed is done. Below, you will find a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 21st of December, inst. That tried and fearless defender of the right of petition, Hon. J. Q. Adams, attempted to remonstrate against its adoption, but was gagged by the previous question! As the only thing he could do, when the yeas and nays were called, he rose in his place, and amid clamorous cries of ‘order,’ designed to silence him, or drown his voice, he exclaimed, ‘*I consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of my constituents and the people of the United States to petition—and of my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.*’ It was to no purpose. Slaveholding arrogance and dictation demanded it, and straitway the gag is applied, the right of petition virtually denied, the Constitution trampled under foot, and the sovereignty of the people contemned. Will you stand by the right of petition? Then circulate and sign the annexed memorials.

At the last session of Congress, the House of Representatives declared by solemn vote, that *slaves* have not the right of petition. By the resolution of December 21st, this body virtually declares that YOU have not this right. *Are you slaves?*

Again—this resolution is almost word for word the infamous resolution of January last. That resolution came immediately before the Legislature of this Commonwealth, then in session, for its consideration and action. That body, by a vote of 378 to 16, passed the following resolutions:—

‘Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a State.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth.’

Nobly spoken! A voice, worthy the free representatives of a free people! There was

but one defect in it—it was not ‘spoken upon the house-tops.’ *No resolution was passed directing the Executive to forward the above to Congress.* Four things, then, need now to be done:

1. That the people respond, promptly, universally, boldly, to the voice of their representatives—therefore sign the memorials.

2. That the response be uttered on the house-tops—in the ear of Congress—therefore sign memorial No. 1.

3. That the response break on the ear of that body, at one time, as a voice of thunder, in one startling appeal. Therefore, circulate and sign the memorials at once, and on the 25th of January, mail them for Washington, directed to J. Q. Adams, or the member from your district. If the circulation be completed sooner, no matter: *on that day, not before*, put them in the mail. If it be not then completed, no matter, send what you have, and the remainder afterwards.

N. B. Let adults only sign the memorials. Let ladies and gentlemen sign separate memorials. Let the signatures of the men in each place be all united in one memorial; and the signatures of the ladies in another. Fold each memorial, and on the back of it, write, in large and legible characters, the name of the first petitioner, the number of petitioners, and the place—thus—Petition of A. B. and others of [] remonstrating against the resolution of December 21st, 1837.’

4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, in the ear of Congress. Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay. ..

Men and women of Massachusetts, the work is before you—will you do it? Or shall your apathy and silence doom you slaves? The answer is with you.

A. A. PHELPS,
By order of the Board of Managers
of the Mass. A. S. Society.

; the caveats, injunctions, mandates, & threatenings of
 age, station, interest, numbers, or authority; the ~~anathema-~~
~~-mas~~ ~~councils~~ of "indignation meetings" & the "uproar" of
 Shrine-makers; the decisions of Sanhedrins, & Confer-
 ences & Councils, & "Lawless" magistrates & Lynch
 committees; the violence of mobs & the Confiscation,
 imprisonment, torture, stripes, banishment, & death
 of the persecuting, civil or ecclesiastical arm - these,
 & the thousand other appliances to which "rested" wrong
 & hoary headed crime are wont, in such cases, to re-
 sort, may be launched, ^{at the outset,} like an avalanche of ruin,
 on the head of those, who set ~~the~~ great enterprises of
 reform on foot; & for the time being, by alarming
 the fears of the timid & enlisting the interests of the selfish.
 & forestalling the judgment of all ^{they} may serve to ~~break~~ weaken
 the force & retard the progress of the moral appeal, but
~~this is all. Destroy its force, & stop its progress, they cannot.~~
 The man may die, but ~~the~~ appeal, if it be that of
~~truth, will live; & if it be that of truth, will live;~~
~~but the appeal, if it be that of truth, will live;~~
~~as you say, becoming power-~~
 if it be that of truth, will live; & "when uttered from the
 stake or on the scaffold", so far from being rendered thereby
 powerless thereby, ~~it~~, as you justly say, "becomes ab-
 solutely"

To the Honorable the House of Representatives of the United States.

The undersigned of in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have learned with astonishment and alarm, that your honorable body did, on the 21st of December last, adopt a resolution in the words following, to wit:

'Resolved, That all memorials, petitions, and papers, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transfer of slaves in any State, territory, or district of the United States, shall be laid on the table, without reading, or reference, or printing, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.'

Your memorialists consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition—and of the right of their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body.' They further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the sovereignty of the People, and TO THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES: They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and respectfully ask your honorable body to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT.

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Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for a redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the 1st Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destructive of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty, and dangerous to the Union of these States: do, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable bodies to PROTEST, without delay, in the name of THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, against said resolution,—and to invoke the House of Representatives of the United States to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT. And your memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent, as soon as possible, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, to be by them laid before that body.

irresistible," ~~even~~, "even falsehood, who ruled with blood,
 sequence, not unfrequently, for a time, an impregnable
 power." It was but the ~~remake~~ of well said, therefore
 by Daniel Webster in 1836, "it (the question of slavery) has
 arrested the religious feelings of the Country; it has taken
 strong hold on the consciences of men, & he is a rash
 man indeed, little conversant with human nature, who
 supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be trifled with,
 or despised. It will assuredly cause itself to be res-
 pected. It may be reasoned with, but to coerce it into
 silence - to endeavor to restrain its free expression, to
 seek to compress & confine it, warm as it is, & more
 heated as such endeavors would inevitably render it.
 Should all this be attempted, I know nothing even
 in the Constitution or the Union itself, which would
 not be endangered by the explosion which might
 follow." Nor did it indicate a less familiar acquaint-
 ance with human nature, when Buff Green declared
 two years before, that the South had "most to fear from the
 organised action upon the Consciences & fears of the
 slaveholders themselves," & that it was "only by alarming
 the Conscience of the weak & feeble, & diffusing among
 their own people a morbid sensibility on the subject,
 that the abolitionists could accomplish their object" - admitting

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of course, that in this way, they could do it. The truth is, & I thank you for uttering it so distinctly, "every one feels that he must do what his conscience commands, & that ^{he} must not do what his conscience forbids, all things else to the contrary notwithstanding." So that in ~~this case, as in every other, let us~~ ~~the case of slaves~~ the matter of slavery, as of every other, let us once make a lodgement in the Conscience of those concerned, & our work is done. No motives of wisdom, or prudence, or advantage, or loss, can be allowed to come into competition with this, the supreme authority of their being. Nay, more, they must devote their whole intellectual & physical power ~~to~~ to the accomplishment of the purpose to which they are urged by the voice of God, thus speaking within them. If we enlist "the moral impulse", we enlist "the whole energy of the whole man," ~~a power of the man.~~

Your memorialists consider it a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition for a redress of grievances, to allow their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body, and to further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the sovereignty of the People, and TO THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES: They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and respectfully ask your honorable body to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT.

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In this view of the case, I grant you, "that the events of the present time do specially call for the discussion" of the question of "human responsibility" to which you have addressed yourself. For these are such as to show, that the abolition enterprise must be arrested, if at all, as it has been carried on, by an appeal to the "moral sentiments." It has outlived every other mode of attack & ~~even~~ gained strength by the conflict, until, at length, the day of reproach & contempt, of the "curled lip & pointed finger," of civil ecclesiastical & academic proscription, of brickbats & rotten eggs, "on the hills of New England", is passing by; & even the "magnanimous South", whose "chivalric contempt of danger", & "enthusiastic attachment to personal right" you "know", is becoming, (because she cannot help it), "equal to the occasion" of allowing the reign of silence, if not of Lynch law, to be broken! ~~In these & their associated "events", the defenders~~

These & their associated "events" are teaching, "at the present time", what the defenders of slavery & the opponents of abolition should have learned from the history of all former time, that no enterprise, righteous or unrighteous in its principles, which relies for its advancement upon the moral appeal, can ever be effectually met by any other; nay,

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that "even falsehood" will gain strength by persecution, &, in ~~your~~ own impressive language, "when sealed with blood, acquire, not unfrequently, for a time, an irrepressible power." And to me, ^{therefore,} is not a little encouraging, ~~to me, at many indications,~~ that at last, the opponents of the abolition enterprise, ~~are beginning~~ seem to have learned what "^{the present} the events of ~~the~~ ^{time}, past as well as of the past, ~~as present,~~" are so well fitted to teach; ~~& are accord~~ingly, ~~as the last resort,~~ that if they hope to arrest its ~~in its~~ progress, their only effectual weapon must be the moral appeal.

Nor is this all; the enterprise has now reached a point, at which, this ~~rare~~ appeal, if made at all, must be made upon the main question. Throughout the land, the outposts, ~~have~~, for the most part, ^{have} been carried. Before the power of the moral appeal, colonization, gradualism, entailment, impracticability, disunion, assumed pastoral rights &c. &c. have fled, or are flying the field. At the South, slavery is retreating from every other entrenchment, to the bible, & as if conscious of defeat every where else, is joining issue, as a last resort, upon the question, whether it has or has not the sanction of

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the word of God. At the North, the question is ceasing to be one of preliminaries, of the correctness or incorrectness, the policy or impolicy, the practicability or impracticability, the safety or the danger of the principles & measures in question, & is becoming one of ultimates merely, viz what are our responsibilities & how shall we meet them. Previous questions are every where being disposed of; & with clear decks & open sea, we have reached the point, at which the great conflict is to be decided by the strength of the moral appeal, & by the strength too of that appeal, not on preliminaries, but upon the main question. If Smylie & his coadjutors at the South, can, by such appeal, make men believe that slavery is sanctioned by the bible, & therefore, at least, a harmless institution, he will enlist the Conscience of the South, in its support; & if you Sir, & your coadjutors at the North, can make men here believe, that, wicked as slavery is, they have no responsibilities in respect to it, or if they have, that the present mode of meeting them, by "voluntary societies", is of doubtful ~~if not certain~~ propriety, then will you have "extirpated them", as you say, "from otherwise most perplexing moral embarrassment" & enlisted their consciences in favor of the "let alone" policy; & what, ~~with the~~ ^{& you} ~~of~~ Southern conscience & the "let alone" of Northern, slavery, so far as you can effect, ~~it~~ ^{& you} ~~will stand forever;~~ ~~the~~ & your "Southern brethren" may share the deep damnation of having ^{of having} ~~well known~~ done the deed! For though "perverted", you will

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4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, *in the ear of Congress*. Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay.

Men and women of Massachusetts, the work is before you—will you do it? Or shall your apathy and silence doom you slaves? The answer is with you.

A. A. PHELPS,

By order of the Board of Managers
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being witness, Conscience will do her work, & in this, as in other cases, "act with the whole energy of the whole man, & the mischief it works be measured only by the limitations, which God shall fix to its physical & intellectual power." If however, ~~as in time past~~, you should be unsuccessful, & the appeal upon the main question, ^{Should South} ~~Should~~ share the fate of ^{that} ~~these~~ upon preliminaries, then indeed the whole system must tumble into ruins, & time only can show what shall become of "thee & thy father's house." Southern Conscience once enlisted to ~~this~~ ^{for} doctrine that the bible ^{condemns} ~~sanctions~~ slavery, & northern conscience enlisted in like manner to the doctrine that it has ~~no~~ responsibilities in respect to it, & that the present is a proper way of meeting them, & that moment the Conscience of the nation is roused to its overthrow; & thus roused, it will "own no equal", & "know no counteracting, no countubalancing force". Forthwith, it will lead the monster to execution, & scatter his ashes on the winds.

C I R C U L A R .

CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS—

The deed is done. Below, you will find a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 21st of December, inst. That tried and fearless defender of the right of petition, Hon. J. Q. Adams, attempted to remonstrate against its adoption, but was gagged by the previous question! As the only thing he could do, when the yeas and nays were called, he rose in his place, and amid clamorous cries of 'order,' designed to silence him, or drown his voice, he exclaimed, '*I consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of my constituents and the people of the United States to petition—and of my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.*' It was to no purpose. Slaveholding arrogance and dictation demanded it, and straitway the gag is applied, the right of petition virtually denied, the Constitution trampled under foot, and the sovereignty of the people contumely. Will you stand by the right of petition? Then circulate and sign the annexed memorials.

At the last session of Congress, the House of Representatives declared by solemn vote, that *slaves* have not the right of petition. By the resolution of December 21st, this body virtually declares that YOU have not this right. *Are you slaves?*

Again—this resolution is almost word for word the infamous resolution of January last. That resolution came immediately before the Legislature of this Commonwealth, then in session, for its consideration and action. That body, by a vote of 378 to 16, passed the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a State.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth.'

Nobly spoken! A voice, worthy the free representatives of a free people! There was

but one defect in it—it was not 'spoken upon the house-tops.' *No resolution was passed directing the Executive to forward the above to Congress.* Four things, then, need now to be done:

1. That the people respond, promptly, universally, boldly, to the voice of their representatives—therefore sign the memorials.

2. That the response be uttered on the house-tops—in the ear of Congress—therefore sign memorial No. 1.

3. That the response break on the ear of that body, at one time, as a voice of thunder, in one startling appeal. Therefore, circulate and sign the memorials at once, and on the 25th of January, mail them for Washington, directed to J. Q. Adams, or the member from your district. If the circulation be completed sooner, no matter: *on that day, not before*, put them in the mail. If it be not then completed, no matter, send what you have, and the remainder afterwards.

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Under these circumstances ~~now~~, I not only grant, "that the events of the present time call for the discussion" to ~~you~~^{yourself}, which you, & others, seem now addressing ~~themselves~~, but such discussion, confident as I am of the result, is, to me, full of encouragement; & the more so from the fact, that whatever your practice, ~~is the case~~, you seem to intend at least, that the appeal in question shall be purely one of argument addressed to the moral sense. Accordingly in entering upon this discussion, it gives ~~me unmingled~~ ~~satisfact great pleasure~~ me unmingled satisfaction to concur with you in the doctrine, that "public opinion", be that public who, or what it may, "can make nothing either right or wrong"; that "moral questions can not be decided by majorities, nor the law of God be ascertained by the votes of Conventions", nor, ~~with~~~~the~~ ~~respect~~, permit me to add, by the votes of college faculties or the dictums of college presidents; that in these matters, "every man must give account of himself before God", & "cannot shift the responsibility of his conduct upon others", be they who or what they may; that "when men differ in any matter of belief", the only proper course is, to "let them meet each other manfully"

To the Honorable the House of Representatives of the United States.

The undersigned of in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have learned with astonishment and alarm, that your honorable body did, on the 21st of December last, adopt a resolution in the words following, to wit:

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Your memorialists 'consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition—and of the right of their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body:' They further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the sovereignty of the People, and TO THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES: They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and respectfully ask your honorable body to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT.

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Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for a redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the 1st Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destructive of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty, and dangerous to the Union of these States: do, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable bodies to PROTEST, without delay, in the name of THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, against said resolution,—and to invoke the House of Representatives of the United States to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT. And your memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent, as soon as possible, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, to be by them laid before that body.

& put the whole question to the issue of argument - no man ought to wince from this; ^{now} that "the brother in error," on his responsibility to God, "has the same right to propagate his error, that I have to propagate my truth"; & that "the only weapons which I am authorised to use, are, considerations addressed to his understanding & conscience - to use any other is persecution"; & in the conflict of argument ~~consist~~ that "to misstate ^{wrong} another's opinions, or to draw inferences from his opinions, which he has not drawn, for the sake of fixing upon him the odium of the public" is, not only "wrong", but resorting to one of those "petty modes of guerrilla warfare" which, "as it seems to you, are vastly contemptible".

Now Sir, I protest as earnestly as yourself, that "I impeach no man's motives", & yet I confess to you, that with these doctrines on your lips, I can hardly account for it when I find you, declaring, ^{as} among "the events of the present time", that "it seems to be frequently taken for granted, that all duties belong to all men; that matters of right require no distinction either of age, or sex, of civil office, or ecclesiastical function; that all men, & all women, & all children, are equally (!) responsible for all possible things; that there is no peculiar liar

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& special duty assigned to a magistrate or a legislator, a people, or a clergyman; but that every man, woman, & child, is responsible for the discharge of every possible duty, & that every human being may urge this responsibility upon every other human being, under penalty of the infinite displeasure of the eternal God; & as a matter of fact, that "so far as you have seen, whenever a man begins by neglecting the limits of responsibility which God has affixed, & by assuming that every one is responsible for every thing, he ends, by holding himself & every one else responsible for only one thing" (!) that "we have a right", to be sure, "to attempt to change Southern opinions on the question" of slavery, "but have no right to force our instructions upon them, either by conversation, or by lectures, or by the mail," nor any "right to take any measures of which the natural tendency is, to excite the slaves to insubordination & civil war", as if somebody had done so; that the Anti-Slavery Societies are "a system of societies, affiliated, not for the sake of circulating truth at the South, but for the sake of exciting & agitating the people of the North", & ^{that, in point of} ~~have~~ ^{fact,} ~~they~~ "have raised a violent agitation", "without presenting any definite

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means. of constitutionally accomplishing their object" I say,
 Sir, that with such professions on your lips, I can hardly account for it, that in this very discussion, such should be your practice. True, you may not be aware, that in the above & similar remarks to which I might refer you, you have "misstated" & grossly caricatured "the opinions" of those whom you consider in error, & "drawn inferences from them which they never drew", & stated as facts, what, notoriously, are not facts. If so, you may escape the charge of having done it "for the sake of fixing upon them the odium of the public", & may ~~thus~~ save your motive at the expence of your intelligence. Otherwise, I see not, ^{but you must stand convicted, out of your own mouth, yourself} ~~how you will escape the charge of having~~ resorted to "a mode of warfare, vastly contemptible". ~~As I impress no man's motive, I leave~~
 Dear ~~you to take~~ that horn of the dilemma, which is most agreeable. Meanwhile, as we proceed, it may be well to note here, for the sake of convenient reference, several other doctrines or sentiments, in which, professedly at least, we are agreed. And,

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1. "The steadfast wisdom of God" is "far better than the fluctuating caprice of man!"
2. "In all moral questions, the being to whom we are ultimately responsible is the Creator."
3. "Our responsibility to the Creator, is a responsibility to obey his commands, to do the very thing that he has told us, & to do nothing either more, or less, or different from, what he has told us."
4. "The commands of God cannot be inconsistent with themselves."
5. "In so far as our relations to God are essentially concerned, his commands have respect simply to temper of mind. The temper is the essence, the act is an accident."
6. "The temper cannot exist without correspondent action, if the act be in our power, taking the word power in its full import"
7. "We are not responsible for the opinions of our fellow men, but only for the setting before their understanding & conscience", in a proper way, "what we believe to be the truth."
8. Duty is ours, consequences are God's. It is granted that we are bound to exert our whole power, without regard to consequences, in the performance of duty—"We have only to ask, are our principles according to the will of God? If so, we are not responsible for the result. He knew when he promulgated his will, that it would be liable to abuse from the perversity of man. The responsibility for this, rests, neither with him nor with us, but with the man who abuses it."

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At the last session of Congress, the House of Representatives declared by solemn vote, that *slaves* have not the right of petition. By the resolution of December 21st, this body virtually declares that YOU have not this right. *Are you slaves?*

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4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, in the ear of Congress. Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay.

Men and women of Massachusetts, the work is before you—will you do it? Or shall your apathy and silence doom you slaves? The answer is with you.

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We come now to the main question - "the principles by which we may judge of our individual responsibility." I say main, because from the nature of the case it must be, & from the most cursory examination of your book it obviously is the fact, that your views upon ~~this question give character to those advanced upon~~ the subsequent topics of discussion take their character from the views advanced upon this. Indeed you ~~do~~ announce this, in terms, as your plan of discussion. You are "first to illustrate some of the principles, by which we may decide whether we are, or are not, responsible for a particular result; & then to apply these principles to several of the cases in which a mistake is most likely to occur". The illustration, we have in the chapters on "individual responsibility", the application, in those on "persecution", "propagation of truth", "voluntary societies" &c. & last not least, in the chapter on "Slavery". And so intimate is the connexion of the one with the other, that the strength of the argument ~~directly is~~^{obviously} in the illustration, & accordingly, that the positions taken in the application must stand or fall with those taken in it. In this view, it is of first & chief importance to examine carefully the ~~principles~~ positions taken in

The Illustration.

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the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, *in the ear of Congress*. Therefore circulate

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Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for a redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the 1st Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destructive of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty, and dangerous to the Union of these States: do, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable bodies to PROTEST, without delay, in the name of THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, against said resolution,—and to invoke the House of Representatives of the United States to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT. And your memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent, as soon as possible, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, to be by them laid before that body.

And here it is obvious to remark, that at the outset of a discussion, such as you have attempted, of "the subject of Moral Responsibility", & particularly of "the principles by which we may judge of our individual Responsibility", one naturally asks, what is responsibility? In what sense is the term used? Wherein, if at all, does responsibility differ from ~~obligation or duty~~? And what are the various kinds of responsibility to which man, in his various relations, is subject? And one as naturally expects, at least at the hands of a philosopher, something in the way of definition & explanation, which shall afford him distinct & definite answers to such inquiries. Indeed it is difficult to see how the "limitations" of the thing can be accurately defined, until the thing itself has been thus defined. ^{And such definition, to be} ~~distinctly given from every~~ ^{definition, must of course} ~~so mark thy true nature of~~ ~~thing, that it resembles nothing else but~~ ^{to the whole it is liable to} ~~be confounded~~ the thing, as to make it stand out, by itself, in bold relief, distinguished from every thing that looks like it, & is wont to be confounded with it. But Sir, I look in vain for such definition & explanation in "Moral and Human Responsibility." Where have you marked the distinction between responsibility & obligation, or duty? Where have ^{you}, intimated, distinctly & definitely, in what sense you use the term, whether as synonymous with obligation, ^{as is often done} in the common parlance of life, or in the strict etymological sense of being answerable to? It may be my dullness that is in fault, but I confess to you, I cannot tell. True, ~~before~~ before entering upon the specification of "limitations", you have a train of remark, the design of which seems to be, to show, "that every one must feel that his responsibility for any particular result is limited by various restrictions, & that these all deserve to be considered, before he resolves that any particular act is his appropriate duty;" & that, in considering them, "the will of God, as revealed in his Providence & by his word" is to be the standard of decision. And in this train of remark, there is something, that I suppose was designed as definition or explanation, on some or all of the points suggested. Thus, you tell us, that "the notion of responsibility always involves the relation of an superior & an inferior"; that "in all moral questions, the being to whom

Now I grant, ¹⁶ that in the strict etymological sense, you have here given the correct definition. In the strict sense, to be responsible is to be answerable, & this supposes the two-fold idea of obligation and liability to account. It supposes first that I am "bound to perform" the given thing, whatever it be, & second, that I am bound to it "under penalty." Hence to be responsible to any one is something more than being under obligation to him. Responsibility differs from obligation in this, that I may be under obligation to an individual & yet not be answerable to him for its fulfilment. I may be answerable to some ^{one} else, ^{but not to him.} Thus ~~I may be under obligation to feed my horse, or my child~~ it may be my duty to feed my child, or my horse, & I may therefore be under obligation to them, & yet I am not answerable, to them. I may be, & am in such case, answerable to some

place, and amid clamorous cries of 'order,' designed to silence him, or drown his voice, he exclaimed, '*I consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of my constituents and the people of the United States to petition—and of my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.*' It was to no purpose. Slaveholding arrogance and dictation demanded it, and straitway the gag is applied, the right of petition virtually denied, the Constitution trampled under foot, and the sovereignty of the people contumied. Will you stand by the right of petition? Then circulate and sign the annexed memorials.

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Are you slaves?

Again—this resolution is almost word for word the infamous resolution of January last. That resolution came immediately before the Legislature of this Commonwealth, then in session, for its consideration and action. That body, by a vote of 378 to 16, passed the following resolutions:—

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4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, in the ear of Congress. Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay.

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A. A. PHELPS,

By order of the Board of Managers
of the Mass. A. S. Society.

we are ultimately responsible is the Creator"; & hence, that "when we say that we are responsible for any particular action, we mean that God will hold us guilty if we do not perform it; that is, that we are bound to perform it under the penalty of his displeasure."

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one else - to God, or the magistrate, as the case may be, but not to them. Though under obligation, & obligation ^{in their own persons & by their authority,} to them, yet it is not their business, to call me to account, & therefore it is not to them that I am responsible. I am ~~bound~~ under obligation to them, but responsible only to him whose right it is, to call me to account by authority, to call me to account. I say, by authority, because the child, for instance, by an appeal to the magistrate, may call me, or rather get me called to account, & in this sense, you may perhaps say I am responsible to him. But this is not responsibility in the strict sense. In the

C I R C U L A R .

CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS—

The deed is done. Below, you will find a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 21st of December, inst. That tried and fearless defender of the right of petition, Hon. J. Q. Adams, attempted to remonstrate against its adoption, but was gagged by the previous question! As the only thing he could do, when the yeas and nays were called, he rose in his place, and amid clamorous cries of 'order,' designed to silence him, or drown his voice, he exclaimed, '*I consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of my constituents and the people of the United States to petition—and of my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.*' It was to no purpose. Slaveholding arrogance and dictation demanded it, and straitway the gag is applied, the right of petition virtually denied, the Constitution trampled under foot, and the sovereignty of the people contumely. Will you stand by the right of petition? Then circulate and sign the annexed memorials.

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Nobly spoken! A voice, worthy the free representatives of a free people! There was

but one defect in it—it was not 'spoken upon the house-tops.' *No resolution was passed directing the Executive to forward the above to Congress.* Four things, then, need now to be done:

1. That the people respond, promptly, universally, boldly, to the voice of their representatives—therefore sign the memorials.

2. That the response be uttered on the house-tops—in the ear of Congress—therefore sign memorial No. 1.

3. That the response break on the ear of that body, at one time, as a voice of thunder, in one startling appeal. Therefore, circulate and sign the memorials at once, and on the 25th of January, mail them for Washington, directed to J. Q. Adams, or the member from your district. If the circulation be completed sooner, no matter: *on that day, not before*, put them in the mail. If it be not then completed, no matter, send what you have, and the remainder afterwards.

N. B. Let adults only sign the memorials. Let ladies and gentlemen sign *separate* memorials. Let the signatures of the men in each place be all united in one memorial; and the signatures of the ladies in another. Fold each memorial, and on the back of it, write, in large and legible characters, the name of the first petitioner, the number of petitioners, and the place—thus—'Petition of A. B. and others of _____ remonstrating against the resolution of December 21st, 1837.'

4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, in the ear of Congress. Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay.

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Now I grant, that in the strict, etymological sense, to be responsible is to be answerable, & supposes obligation & liability to account. ~~In this sense,~~ It differs from obligation in this, that I may be under obligation to individuals, ~~& yet not be~~ to whom, at the same time, I am not responsible or answerable. I may be under obligation to my horse, yet not be answerable to him for its fulfilment. So, I may be under obligation to my child or my neighbor, ~~&~~ yet not be answerable in the case to them, but to some one else. In this sense, responsibility does suppose the right of the one party to require & call to account, & the duty of the other to obey & render account. In this sense then, I admit that your definition is substantially correct, & that responsibility does suppose "the relation of a superior & an inferior". But if this be the sense in which you use the term, I insist on your standing to the definition. I protest against your departing from its strict signification, & in the adoption of a secondary meaning, applying it to the common affairs of life; or if you do so, that in this sense it involves the relation of a superior & an inferior."

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Your memorialists consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition—and of the right of their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body.' They further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the eighty of the People, and TO THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES: They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and re-

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pleasure"; that is, (to complete the circle!) that we are
under obligation to perform it; that is, that we are
responsible for it! I learn also, in the same connec-
tion, that "the notion of responsibility always involves
the relation of a superior & an inferior"; so that,

Note here the distinction strictly between responsibility & duty.
Responsibility strictly is answerable to = re-spondeo.

I I I

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(leaving "the notion" to "involve the relation" at its leisure) responsibility cannot exist among equals! Or if it does, can do so only on the ground, that ^{the} one chance to be "a superior" equal & the other "an inferior" equal! And if moreover, the responsibility in any case should happen to be reciprocal, whether it be ~~between~~^{among} superiors & inferiors or equals, it can exist only by virtue of the principle, that each party is "a superior & an inferior" at one & the same time! For "if I am responsible for any act to another, he has the right to command, & it is my duty to obey"; & as command in such case necessarily supposes "a superior" & duty "an inferior", why "the notion" to be sure, "always involves the relation"! As for instance, "a Coachman, who is employed by a merchant, is responsible for the discharge of a particular duty, & this responsibility admits the right of the one party to command, & the duty of the other to obey"; & as the merchant on the other hand, is responsible to the Coachman for a particular duty, viz payment for his labor & good treatment, "this responsibility" also "admits the right of the one party to command & the duty of the other to obey"; & as "command necessarily supposes "a superior", & duty "an inferior", why "the notion", to be

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Sure, "always involves the relation", & accordingly, without either party being so "very impotent" as to "attempt to generalise his duties", the merchant & the Coachman can both play the "superior" & the "inferior", at one & the same time, ad libitum. Or, if the parties in the case should happen to be husband and wife instead of merchant & coachman, though it might involve some family quarrels if not physical impossibilities for each to act "the head" of the other, at the same time, yet nothing is more obvious than that they might take turns at it, & the wife be, now & then at least, the superior head of an inferior "head" of the husband, even as the husband is of the wife - "the notion ~~of responsibility~~ always involving the ^{supposing} ~~meant to be~~ "the right to command" & the "duty to obey" relation." And this is definition, in "Wycland on Human Responsibility"? Really, Sir, it seems almost to be doing you injustice to suppose it; & yet aside from this, I look in vain for the definitions & explanations, which, to me, seem so essential to a clear & intelligible discussion of the subject in question. I feel the ^a need, in such ^a discussion, at the outset, of something in the way of definition & explanation, that shall bring out in clear day light, the rightness of the thing, as the ground of my obligation or responsibility for its performance. For although, the thing ^{itself} being in itself

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'Resolved, That all memorials, petitions, and papers, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transfer of slaves in any State, territory or district of the U. S. States, shall be laid on the table, without reading, or reference, or printing, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.'

Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for a redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the 1st Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destructive of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty, and dangerous to the Union of these States: do, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable bodies to PROTEST, without delay, in the name of THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, against said resolution,—and to invoke the House of Representatives of the United States to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT. And your memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent, as soon as possible, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, to be by them laid before that body.

right, God's command to do it may increase the weight of my responsibility & enhance my guilt if I do it not, yet not so, if the thing itself be wrong. God, if such a case were supposable, might "hold us guilty" if we refused to commit murder, or to lie, or steal, nay we might be "bound under the penalty of his displeasure" to do such deeds, until doomsday, but that would not make us responsible ^{to do ~~as~~} for them, nor involve us in guilt if we refused to do them. So far from it, with "the penalty of his displeasure" even hanging over us, it would still be our duty not to do them, & such requirement, on his part, would but evidence his own injustice & undify the God. Recognizing then, as you ever have, the existence of essential right & essential wrong in the nature of things, the marvel is that you did not set out in the present discussion, with the rightness of the thing, as the grand test, in all questions of responsibility. Had you done so, whatever might have become of the application, your illustration of "the principles by which we may judge of our individual responsibility" might have ^{as well as this} been far more lucid & correct, than at present. Leaving a definition would have provided indeed, such a definition

C I R C U L A R .

CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS—

The deed is done. Below, you will find a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 21st of December, inst. That tried and fearless defender of the right of petition, Hon. J. Q. Adams, attempted to remonstrate against its adoption, but was *gagged by the previous question!* As the only thing he could do, when the yeas and nays were called, he rose in his place, and amid clamorous cries of ‘order,’ designed to silence him, or drown his voice, he exclaimed, ‘*I consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of my constituents and the people of the United States to petition—and of my right of freedom of speech as a member of this House.*’ It was to no purpose. Slaveholding arrogance and dictation demanded it, and straitway the gag is applied, the right of petition virtually denied, the Constitution trampled under foot, and the sovereignty of the people contumely. Will you stand by the right of petition? Then circulate and sign the annexed memorials.

At the last session of Congress, the House of Representatives declared by solemn vote, that *slaves* have not the right of petition. By the resolution of December 21st, this body virtually declares that *YOU* have not this right. *Are you slaves?*

Again—this resolution is almost word for word the infamous resolution of January last. That resolution came immediately before the Legislature of this Commonwealth, then in session, for its consideration and action. That body, by a vote of 378 to 16, passed the following resolutions:—

‘Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a State.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth.

Nobly spoken! A voice, worthy the free representatives of a free people! There was

but one defect in it—it was not ‘spoken upon the house-tops.’ *No resolution was passed directing the Executive to forward the above to Congress.* Four things, then, need now to be done:

1. That the people respond, promptly, universally, boldly, to the voice of their representatives—therefore sign the memorials.

2. That the response be uttered on the house-tops—in the ear of Congress—therefore sign memorial No. 1.

3. That the response break on the ear of that body, at one time, as a voice of thunder, in one startling appeal. Therefore, circulate and sign the memorials at once, and on the 25th of January, mail them for Washington, directed to J. Q. Adams, or the member from your district. If the circulation be completed sooner, no matter: *on that day, not before*, put them in the mail. If it be not then completed, no matter, send what you have, and the remainder afterwards.

N. B. Let adults only sign the memorials. Let ladies and gentlemen sign *separate* memorials. Let the signatures of the men in each place be all united in one memorial; and the signatures of the ladies in another. Fold each memorial, and on the back of it, write, in large and legible characters, the name of the first petitioner, the number of petitioners, and the place—thus—‘Petition of A. B. and others of _____ remonstrating against the resolution of December 21st, 1837.’

4. The fourth thing to be done is to make the state legislature, at its present session, speak the same language, in regard to the resolution of December 21st, that it did, at its last, in regard to the resolution of January 18th—and speak it, too, in the ear of Congress. Therefore circulate and sign memorial No. 2, at once, and send it in to your representatives in the State Legislature, without delay.

Men and women of Massachusetts, the work is before you—will you do it? Or shall your apathy and silence doom you slaves? The answer is with you.

A. A. PHELPS,

By order of the Board of Managers
of the Mass. A. S. Society.

would have furnished you at the outset with this general & self-evident proposition, that in all questions of responsibility, man is bound to do all, that he rightfully can. And with this for your guidance, your chapters on "limitations" might have run, somewhat in the following style. 1. It can never be right to require men to ^{perform} do what they "have not the physical power to perform" - therefore we can never be bound to do ~~that~~. 2. It can never be right, to violate "the rights of our fellow men" - therefore we can never be bound to do that. 3. It can never be right, to violate "innocent obligations", whether "contracted previously" or not - therefore we can never be bound to do that. 4. It can never be right, to use "power", whatever its kind, "for other purposes than those for which it ~~was committed to us~~" was committed to us - therefore we can never be bound to do that. 5. It can never be right, to present "wrong motives to another", that is to "tempt him to sin" - therefore we can never be bound to do that. ^{And thus,} ~~had been~~ you thirty six pages of "limitations" might have been brought within a very narrow compass space, & the sum total of the truth they contain, been stated in ~~some~~ five ^{very} simple & self-evident truisms!

To the Honorable the House of Representatives of the United States.

The undersigned of in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have learned with astonishment and alarm, that your honorable body did, on the 21st of December last, adopt a resolution in the words following, to wit:

'Resolved, That all memorials, petitions, and papers, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transfer of slaves in any State, territory, or district of the United States, shall be laid on the table, without reading, or reference, or printing, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.'

Your memorialists consider this resolution a violation of the Constitution of the United States—of the right of the people of the United States to petition—and of the right of their Representatives to freedom of speech as members of your honorable body.' They further regard it as an assumption of authority, at once dangerous and destructive to the fundamental principles of republican government, to the rights of minorities, to the sovereignty of the People, and TO THE UNION OF THESE UNITED STATES: They therefore present this their solemn and earnest remonstrance against said resolution, and respectfully ask your honorable body to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT.

To the Honorable the Senate and House
of Representatives of Massachusetts.

The undersigned, of in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have learned with astonishment and alarm, that the House of Representatives of the United States did, on the 21st of December last, adopt a resolution in the words following, to wit:

'Resolved, That all memorials, petitions, and papers, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transfer of slaves in any State, territory or district of the U. States, shall be laid on the table, without reading, or reference, or printing, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.'

Your memorialists, regarding said resolution as a virtual denial to the people of the right of petition for a redress of grievances, a violation of the true intent and spirit of the 1st Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and as an assumption of authority, at war with the fundamental principles of our republican government, destructive of the rights of the people, an insult to their sovereignty, and dangerous to the Union of these States: do, therefore, respectfully and earnestly request your honorable bodies to PROTEST, without delay, in the name of THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMONWEALTH, against said resolution,—and to invoke the House of Representatives of the United States to IMMEDIATELY RESCIND IT. And your memorialists further ask that a copy of said protest and invocation may be sent, as soon as possible, to each of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, to be by them laid before that body.

Is it a right? Yes, because
it has a correspondg. duty.

Every right has such -

Free discussion is made
our duty by the express
word of God.

I. 2. by rather, as
I said the very Constitution
of our being, as respons.
agents.

3. It is not confined
therefore & cannot be taken
away by human govt or
litigious or ecclesiastical

4. It is not confined
by descent, or complexion
or station, & cannot be
taken away by them.

5. It is not self-originated
or self conferred, & cannot
be put off by individual
in obedience to the dictate of
govt or station.

To fetter a forb'd or
shrink from its exercise

1. Preaching to God & rebellion
to his gov't

2. Preaching to truth

3. Reason to immortal mind.

4. Reason to rights & interests of the universe

- G. & all intelligences
This true indeed of every cause
of right - but emphatically of
~~5. Its guilt therefore ob-~~
~~this lies at found of all other~~
~~transcends all other~~
rights - only protection - body of
guilt. - ~~air - sun -~~
holies - can be reached without
trampling on them. - ploughing
- & digging good for evil,
in Cl. C. Good for evil,
of despotism). \

~~Only liable to abuse.~~

- envy -attery to
- impudence - .
- religion - Paradise -
- heaven - .

2. But exciting subjects come up to.

3. But its exercise will ensure evolution upon red-
-ution - germ - nothing stable
in chh. or state.)

4. Read the book of family
chh. states &c - .

5. No security against era
Motives - 1. Liberties of world
involved in preservation of
this principle inviolate &
sacredly by us.

Me buffe - G. Connell -

2. Recovery of world to
God - State point -

From E. A. Phelps

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society of Newcastle upon Tyne, held this 7th day of March 1845 [The Revd Jas Bringle in the Chair]

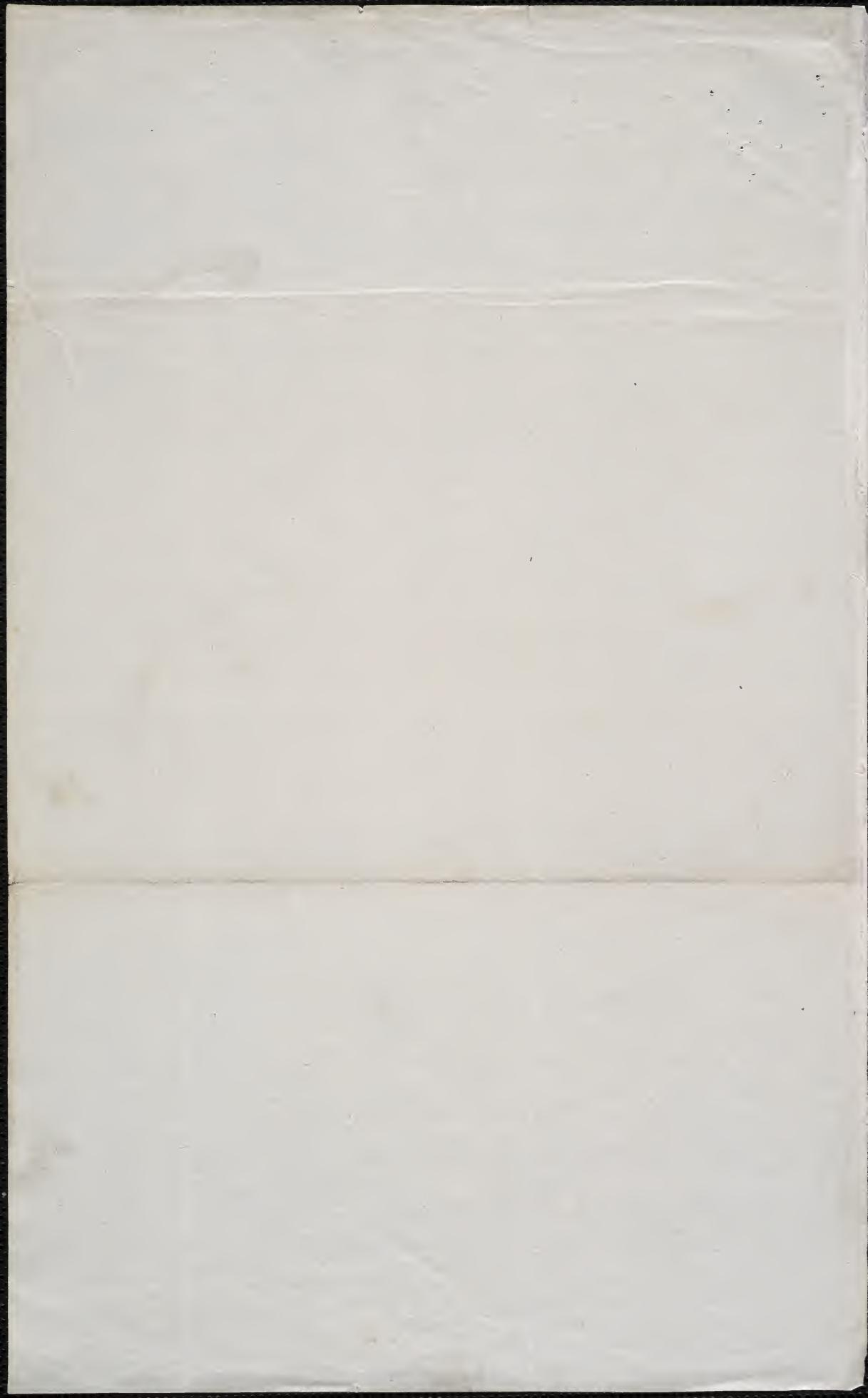
It was unanimously resolved.

- 1st That this Committee desires to express its deep and heartfelt sympathy for those estimable persons who are now incarcerated in the Jails and Penitentiaries of the Southern States of North America on the charge of having aided certain slaves to escape from Southern bondage.
- 2^d That the language of Holy Scripture is clear and emphatic upon the subject "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee" and therefore a State, favoured with the light of Revelation, which punishes individuals for obedience to this "Statute of Life" is infidel in its principles of Government and sets itself in direct opposition to the Rule of the Heavens.
- 3^r That the immortal language of the Declaration of American Independence "God hath created all men equal and endowed them with certain inalienable rights among which are life liberty and the pursuit of happiness" condemns most emphatically the wicked and atrocious system of slavery obtaining in so many of the States of the American Union and cries aloud for the utter and final extinction of that most brutal and brutalizing bondage by which America holds three millions of the Human Family in chains.

Middle Forster

Forster

{ Secretaries



From C. A. Phelps

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Torquay
Antislavery Society held on Saturday the 28th day of March
1845, the following Resolutions were passed unanimously.

1st That in the view of this Committee, the law of
American Slavery which condemns nearly three millions
of innocent beings and thus subjects to perpetual bondage
with all its revolting and cruel incidents must be
considered by all good men as morally null and void in
as much as it is a manifest violation of the natural rights
of man, and an infamisation of the prerogatives of
Divinity Good.

2nd That the wickedness of this law becomes the
more apparent, in that it requires the laws equally
irreverent & impious to sustain it, laws which den-
ounce acts of humanity as crimes, and punish
acts of mercy with chains & imprisonment, breaking
out the Pillory; has overruled the great Christian law
of equity and benevolence which demands that we

should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

2. That the Committee consider it an obligation for such persons as have the opportunity to promote the safety of slaves from the cruel bondage in which they are held, and would deeply sympathize with any who may on this account be exposed to punishment by the slave power of the United States, and would affectionately command them and their wives etc to the protection of the God of the Afflicted.

4. That the Committee deeply, & earnestly rebuke the friends of human & religion in the area at present as to their conduct and anxiety to protect against the spread of American slavery, as founded in injury and robbery of Africa and would expose the way in the shorter planks of all of the last election. It is the duty of every member of the Committee to use all means in his immediate and surrounding, and the general application of the above both individually in their declaration of independence, that ye all men shall be all men equal and endowed them with a divine

inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the
pursuit of happiness. —

Agreed by order and in behalf of the Committee

A. H. Green

Secretary



From E. A. Phelps

At a meeting of the Committee of The Worcester Anti Slavery Association held on Tuesday the 11th day of March 1845.

Alderman Edward Evans, in the Chair,
the following resolutions were passed unanimously,

— That this Committee feel it to be their duty publicly to express their Christian sympathy and respect for those philanthropic individuals who are now imprisoned in certain jails and Penitentiaries of America, for having bid the captives go free, and aiding Slaves to escape from the cruel bondage in which they were held by the free citizens of the United States.

That although this Committee conscientiously deprecate international interference and dictation, they cannot, on this occasion, withhold the em-

-phatic declaration of their opinion, that a Code of laws, by whatever State it may be adopted, which denounces acts of humanity as crimes, and punishes deeds of mercy with chains and imprisonment, is alike repugnant to the precepts of our common Christianity, and to the spirit of that free Constitution, from which both England and America derive their claim to the foremost rank among the enlightened nations of the world. —

Edward Evans.
Chairman
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From E. A. Phelps

At a Meeting of the Committee of the
Youngal Anti-Slavery Society, held in the
Savings Bank the 40th of March 1845.

John Barton Grey, in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were
unanimously passed,

That this Committee feel it to be their duty
publicly to express their deep sympathy for those persons
now incarcerated in the jails, Penitentiaries of Virginia,
Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, & Florida, on the charge
of having counseled, or aided & abetted certain slaves to
escape from Southern bondage.

That so far from regarding as crimes, the alleged
acts for which they have been committed to various cruel
& degrading punishments by the Slave courts of the United States,
they esteem them to be deeds of Christian benevolence.

That in the view of this Committee, the law of
American Slavery, which condemns nearly three
millions of human beings, & their posterity after them,
to perpetual bondage, with all its revolting and cruel
incidents, is, & should be considered by all good men, as
morally null & void, inasmuch as it is a manifest violation
of the natural rights of man, & an impious invasion of the
privileges of Almighty God.

That

(That the wickedness of this law becomes the more apparent, in that it requires other laws equally iniquitous in principle to sustain it; laws which denounce acts of humanity as crimes, & punish deeds of mercy with chains & imprisonment, branding the fellow; thus reviving the great Christian law of equity & benevolence which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

That this Committee therefore respectfully, yet urgently, call on all the friends of humanity & religion in this & other countries to enter their emphatic & united protest against the system of American Slavery, as founded in iniquity & upheld by oppression. Especially to urge on the Christian Philanthropists of the United States the solemn duty of seeking by every constitutional & Christian means its immediate & entire abolition, & the universal application of the sublime truth contained in their Declaration of Independence, that, "God has created all men equal, & endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness".

Finally, — That this Committee tender their warm & heartfelt sympathy to the wives & children, & other near relations of their imprisoned friends, and affectionately command them in their affliction, to the protection of Him who is the "God of the oppressed," and to the Christian regard & care of their fellow labourers in the cause of injured & oppressed humanity.

To him I pray
Congregational Ministers
Chairman

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From E. A. Phelps

At a meeting of the Committee of the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society for Darlington, co. of Durham, & the vicinity, The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed upon, 7th of March, 1845, to be signed by the Committee, & other Friends of the cause, as time will permit.

John Church Backhouse, Esq. in the Chair,

Resolved, That we publickly express our deep sympathy for the valued individuals now in the jails, &c., of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, & Florida, on a charge of having aided some slaves to escape from their bondage.

That, so far from regarding as crimes the acts for which they are condemned to cruel punishments by the slave courts of America, we believe them to be deeds of Christian charity.

That in our view, the law of slavery, which condemns nearly three millions of innocent persons to perpetual bondage, with all its cruel incidents, is considered by all good men as morally null & void, as being a violation of the natural rights of man, & an invasion of the prerogatives of Almighty God.

That, the wickedness of this law is more apparent, in that it requires laws equally iniquitous to sustain it, laws which denounce acts of humanity & punish deeds of mercy with chains, imprisonment, & the pillory; reversing the Christian law, which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

That, we therefore urgently call on the friends of humanity & religion, to enter their protest against the system of American slavery, founded in iniquity & upheld by oppression, & that we urge on the Christian Philanthropists of the United States, the solemn duty

of

(over)

- of seeking by every Christian, & constitutional means, its immediate abolition, & the application of the truth contained in their Declaration of Independence, that "God hath created all men equal, & endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness".

Finally, That we tender our heartfelt sympathy to the wives & children of our imprisoned friends, & affectionately commend them to the protection of Him who is the "God of the oppressed," & to the Christian regard of our fellow labourers in the cause of oppressed humanity.

(signed) - - -

John Backhouse

Joseph Pease Esq^r

William Fothergile

John B. Pease

Tho^s. Bowes

W^m. Henderson

W. J. Scammon

Jam^t. Barnard

Wm. Cudworth

Is^r. Fawcett

Alex^d. Fothergile

Joseph Neville

Thos^r. Pendleton

H. Backhouse, Chairman.

Pease Jr

W^m. Backhouse

Joseph Sams

Richard Pitt-Rivers

G. D. Lightfoot

John Lightfoot

W^m. Fawcett

W^m. Fawcett

W^m. Fawcett

Samuel Barlow

John Manley

W^m. Fawcett

William Thompson

W^m. Fawcett

W^m. Pitts

George Livingston

John Fothergill	Geo: Middleton
William Fothergill	Mike Middleton
Joseph Bryan	John Middleton
Rich ^o Middleton	John Livick
Robert Hudson	No Readman
John C. Hopkins	John Brodie
Edward Ooley.	Frederick Adams
Mr. Webb	William Furness
George Hinde	Samuel Barlow Jun ^r
George Bradock	Charles Parker
Jonathan Dresser	Robert Thaddeus
Edward Ripling	Jno. Harley.
John Foppenn	Richard Kitching
William Kitching	Grace Kitching
Sophia Coates	Anthony Cusack
William Wilson	William Watson
Wm. Dossick.	John Smith
John Farmer	James Porter
Samuel Thompson.	William Haworth

Mr Richardson

Ives Coates

Paul Grant

Mr. McEachern

James Smith

Goffinerson -

Protestant Methodist Church
Grand Junction

W. Taylor

George Coates

R. B. Landa Jr.

Christie Watterson

P. Cooper

Robert Johnson

William Griffith -

Robert Willis

John Harris

John Hay

John Gould

Charles Gallop

William Billow

William Heron

Joseph Bouroue

Joseph Sparkes

Geo Walters

John Beighton

From E a Phelps

American Slavery

At a Meeting of the Committee of the
Colchester Auxiliary, to the British
and Foreign Antislavery Society.

Thomas Catchpool, Esq.
in the Chair

It was resolved.

- 1st That this Committee has received with deepest regret the intelligence respecting the imprisonment of worthy Christian men in the jails and Penitentiaries of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Florida, for no other cause than that of coun-selling, aiding and abetting certain Slaves in their escape from Southern Bondage.
- 2^d It is the decided opinion of this Committee that the law of American Slavery which legalises the trade in human beings which condemns Three Millions of our fellow Creatures to perpetual bondage, which virtually sanctions all the revolting crimes and merciful enormities of that iniquitous system — is null and void from the beginning as being totally contrary to the laws and prerogative of Almighty God, as well as the national rights of men.
- 3^o Therefore this Committee is of opinion that these estimable men are guilty of no crime in aiding their fellow creatures to escape from the authority of such a law, but that the iniquity of the legislation becomes the more glaring and frightful, in that it subjects good and merciful men to chains & imprisonment, branding and pillory for

The performance of acts of Christian Charity and Love commanded by God our Saviour, this Committee considers it a duty in such case to obey. God rather than men the laws of their country being at open variance with those which must of necessity have a higher claim upon them as accountable to their final Judge —

4th This Committee urgently calls upon all the friends of humanity and religion in this and other Countries to enter their emphatic and united protest against American Slavery and the laws which sanction it and especially to urge all those who call themselves Christians in the United States to the most active and untiring zeal in this cause seeking by every Constitutional means in the immediate and entire abolition of Slavery in every form that then and not not till then they may consistently and rightfully boast of that sublime truth contained in their Declaration of Independence that God hath created all men equal and endowed them with certain unalienable rights, among which are life liberty & the pursuit of happiness —

5th That this Committee would with much sympathy express its deep interest in the sorrows and afflictions of the prisoners, their wives children and near friends and its devout wishes and fervent prayers that He who looseth the prisoners' and is a Refuge for the Oppressed' may have mercy on them and excite the compassion and sympathy of all good men towards them in their sufferings for Righteousness' sake —

Colchester Marth 6th 1845.

Signed on behalf
of the Committee

W^m Cross.

Secretary.

From E. A. Phelps

American Slavery.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Exeter Anti-Slavery Society, held on Friday the 14th day of March 1845, the Rev. John Bigwood in the chair. The following resolutions were passed unanimously.

That this committee feel it to be their duty publicly to express their deep sympathy for the estimable individuals now incarcerated in the jails and penitentiaries of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Florida, on the charge of having counselled or aided and abetted certain slaves to escape from Southern bondage.

That so far from regarding as crimes, the alleged acts for which they have been condemned to various cruel and degrading punishments by the slave courts of the United States, they esteem them to be deeds of Christian benevolence.

That, in the view of this Committee, the law of American slavery, which condemns nearly three millions of innocent beings, and their posterity after them, to perpetual bondage, with all its cruel and revolting incidents, is, and should be considered by all good men, as morally null and void, inasmuch as it is a manifest violation of the natural rights of man, and an impious invasion of the prerogatives of Almighty God.

That the wickedness of this law becomes more apparent, in that it requires other laws equally iniquitous in principle to sustain it; laws which denounce acts of humanity as crimes, and deeds of mercy with chains and imprisonment, branding and ^{the} pillory, thus reversing the great Christian law of equity and benevolence which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

That this Committee therefore respectfully,
yet urgently, call on the friends of humanity and re-
ligion in this and other countries to enter their em-
phatic and united protest against the system of
American slavery, as founded in iniquity and upheld
by oppression, and especially to urge on the Christian
Philanthropists of the United States the solemn duty
of seeking by every constitutional and Christian means
its immediate and entire abolition, and the universal
application of the sublime truth contained in their
Declaration of Independence, that "God hath created
all men equal, and endowed them with certain
inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty,
and the pursuit of happiness."

Finally.—That this Committee tender their
warm and heartfelt sympathy to the wives, and
children, and other near relations of their imprisoned
friends, and affectionately commend them in
their affliction, to the protection of Him who is
the "God of the oppressed," and to the Christian
regard and care of their fellow labourers in the
cause of injured and oppressed humanity.

Signed in behalf of the Committee John Bigwood, dissenting Minister, Chairman -

Robert Smithson

From E. A. Phelps

Carlisle

At a meeting of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, held on Monday the ^{1st day of March 1845 Joseph Ferguson Esq^r in the Chair. The following resolutions were passed unanimous.}

That this Committee feel it to be their duty publicly to express their deep sympathy for those estimable individuals now incarcerated in the Jails and penitentiaries of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Florida, on the charge of having counselled or aided and abetted certain slaves to escape from Southern bondage.

That so far from regarding as crimes, the alleged acts for which they have been condemned to various cruel and degrading punishments by the slave courts of the United States, they ~~there~~ esteem them to be deeds of Christian Benevolence.

That, in the view of this Committee, the law of American slavery, which condemns nearly three millions of innocent beings, and their posterity after them, to perpetual bondage, with all its revolting and cruel incidents, is, and should be considered by all good men, as morally null and void, inasmuch as it is a manifest violation of the natural rights of man, and an impious invasion of the prerogatives of Almighty God.

That the wickedness of this law becomes the more apparent in that it requires other laws equally iniquitous in principle to sustain it, laws which denounce acts of humanity as crimes, and punish deeds of mercy with chains and imprisonment, branding and the pillory; thus reversing the great Christian law of equity and benevolence which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

That this Committee therefore respectfully, yet urgently, call on the friends of humanity and religion in this and other countries to enter their emphatic and united protest against the system of American slavery, as founded in iniquity and upheld by oppression, and especially to urge on the Christian philanthropists of the United States the solemn duty of seeking by every constitutional and Christian means its immediate and entire abolition; and the universal application of the sublime truths contained in their Declaration of Independance, that "God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Finally. That this Committee tender their warm and heartfelt sympathy to the wives and children, and other near relations of their imprisoned friends, and affectionately commend them in their affliction, to the protection of Him who is the "God of the oppressed"; and to the Christian regard and care of their fellow labourers in the cause of injured and oppressed humanity.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting
by Wm. F. Young
(Chairman)



At a meeting of the Committee of the
Norfolk and Norwich Anti-Slavery Society,-
held at St. Andrew's Hall, on Wednesday, March
12th, 1845, J. J. Gurney, Esq. in the chair. The
following resolutions were passed unanimously.

That this Committee feel it to be their
duty publicly to express their deep sympathy
for those estimable individuals now incarcerated
in the jails and penitentiaries of Virginia, Mary-
land, Kentucky, Missouri, and Florida, on the charge
of having counselled, or aided and abetted certain slaves
to escape from Southern bondage.

That so far from regarding as crimes, the
alleged acts for which they have been condemned
to various cruel and degrading punishments by
the slave courts of the United States, they esteem
them to be deeds of Christian benevolence.

That in the view of this Committee,
the law of American Slavery, which condemns
nearly three millions of innocent beings, and

Wm E a Phelps

their posterity after them, to perpetual bondage, with all its revolting and cruel incidents, is, and should be considered by all good men, as morally null and void; inasmuch as it is a manifest violation of the natural rights of man, and an impious invasion of the prerogatives of Almighty God.

That the wickedness of this law becomes the more apparent, in that it requires other laws equally iniquitous in principle to sustain it, laws which denounce acts of humanity as crimes, and punish deeds of mercy with chains and imprisonment, branding and the pillory; thus reversing the great Christian law of equity and benevolence, which requires that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

That this Committee, therefore, respectfully, yet urgently, call on the friends of humanity and religion in this and other countries to enter their emphatic and united protest against the system of American slavery, as founded in

iniquity and upheld by oppression, and especially
to urge on the Christian philanthropists of the United
States the solemn duty of seeking by every constitu-
tional and Christian means, its immediate and
entire abolition, and the universal application of
the sublime truth contained in their Declaration of
Independence, that "God hath created all men equal,
and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, —
among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of hap-
piness."

Finally, — That this Committee tender
their warm and heartfelt sympathy to the wives
and children, and other near relations of their im-
prisoned friends, and affectionately commend them
in their affliction, to the protection of Him who is
the "God of the oppressed;" and to the Christian re-
gard and care of their fellow labourers in the cause
of injured and oppressed humanity.

I. S. Gurney Chairman

William Broch } Secretaries
John Gurney }



At a Meeting of the Committee of the
Aberdeen Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society
held in Mr. Weston's Hall, on Tuesday the 11th
March 1845 Anthony Tugham Esq. in the Chair,
the subject of the imprisonment of certain individuals
in several of the American States, on the charge
of having aided Slaves in effecting their escape from
bondage, was taken into consideration.

The following Regulations express the
sentiments, not only of the Committee, but they believe,
the sentiments also of the public generally in this
City on this painful subject.

1. That no man has a right of property
in his fellow-man, or a right to claim his services
without his own consent. "God having created all men
equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable
rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit
of happiness."

2. That the law of Slavery in America
is a direct contravention of this first principle of
American independence; and ought, therefore, to be held
by all civilized Nations as null and void.

3. That it cannot therefore be a crime
for a Slave peacefully to effect his escape from the
operation of this law, nor ought it to be viewed other-
wise than as, in itself, an act of benevolence in any
man

Anthony Tugham Chairman

man to lend his aid to his fellow creature in endeavouring
thus to escape from bondage.

4 That this Committee, therefore, approving
of the feelings that led those benevolent individuals who
are now enduring punishment under Slave holding Gov,
to assist certain Slaves in their endeavours to obtain
their liberty, deeply sympathizing with them and their
afflicted families, and cannot but reprobate the system
that subjects such men to unmerited Opprobum and
suffering for exercising some of the noblest impulses
of humanity.

D. Dewar P.

Arch Wigham V.P
Surgeon R.V.P

John Kennedy

David Macallan Secularies

Govt Brantingham, Treasurer

Thomas Weston

Mr Troup -
James Watson

Henry Angus

A. Younkin

John Leslie

Wm Elmslie

Hm Stewart

Joseph Powell

James Sterling

George Jamison

Nich Smith

Robt Fidgerworth

Alex^r Thomson -

At a Public Meeting held at Catterston in the North Riding
of the County of York the 11th day of First Month 1845.
Chairman in the Chair The following resolutions were passed unanimously

That this Meeting moved by the glaring violation of the personal
liberty of several citizens of the United States, by imprisonment in
the jails and penitentiaries of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Misso-
uri, and Florida, for the imputed crime of assisting slaves to escape
from Southern bondage, expresses its sympathy for them in the
sufferings to which they have been unjustly subjected.

That they regard the imputed crimes, for which they have been
condemned to cruel and degrading punishments by the slave courts
of the United States, as deeds of Christian benevolence.

That this Meeting regards the system of American slavery by
which nearly three millions of human beings, and their posterity,
are condemned to perpetual bondage, with all its cruel and revolting
incidents, as a manifest violation of the rights of man.

That to support this iniquitous system of slavery, laws have
been passed, iniquitous in principle, laws which punish acts of
the purest benevolence as crimes, and deeds of mercy with chains,
and imprisonment, branding and the pillory; injurious attempting
to compel men to act contrary to the great Christian precept, "as you
would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them".

That this Meeting enters its protest against the system of
American Slavery, as iniquitous and oppressive, and urges on the
well-disposed citizens of the United States, the duty of seeking by every
constitutional and Christian means its immediate and entire
abolition, and ^{the} universal application of that noble assertion contained
in their Declaration of Independence, that, "God hath created all men
equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among
which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

From E. A. Phelps

Lastly.—That this Meeting renders its sympathy to the wives
and children, and other near relations of their imprisoned friends,
and affectionately commends them in their affliction, to the pro-
tection of Him, who is the "God of the oppressed;" and to the
Christian regard and care of their fellow-labourers in the
cause of injured and oppressed humanity.

Signed in and on behalf of the Meeting
by — John Chipchase

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MAY 12 1845

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Catharine
Henry Post

G.W. Alexander
27 New Broad St
London